

The old women attended to the child, disposing of the placenta and seeing that the child was properly greased and painted with red ocher under the arms, around the neck, between the legs, and on the top of the head to prevent chafing. It was wrapped in a piece of tanned hide taken from a tepee smoke-hole, since such leather did not harden when wet. The child was placed in the leather cradle shortly after birth. In the winter-time it was wrapped in a tanned buffalo calf hide from which the hair had not been removed. At night the child was taken from the cradle to sleep with the mother. Twice a day the child was taken from the cradle to be cleaned and greased.

On the tenth day a feast was given in the lodge, at which time the child was named. The parents selected the person who was to officiate at the naming ceremony. If the father had already acquired eminence and owned a major tribal bundle, he or his sister named the child; otherwise he called in people of his clan to give the name. The child's brothers and sisters and persons of the child's clan brought robes, and the father would frequently contribute a horse. The naming of a child was one of many occasions during one's lifetime when he would be expected to give goods to others ceremonially. The parents used the medium of the feast and the naming of the child, with an abundant display and distribution of goods, to enhance their social status in the tribe.

Until the child received a name, it was not considered a part of the social unit of the village but of the "baby home" from whence it had come. The child received a name relating to the ceremonial bundle of the person giving the name. Thus such names as Scattercorn, Stands Yellow, Pumpkin Blossom, Corn Piles Up, and Corn Silk belonged to Corn ceremony bundles. Others like Lone Woman, Calf Woman, Game Stone, Sage Woman, Big Feather on Head, and Berdache were taken from the Woman Above bundles. The person giving the name received a horse. Both men and women belonging to the child's father's clan were entitled to attend and were expected to receive some article and to pray for the child's success. Upon receiving a name, the child acquired status in the household and clan. Children dying before the naming ceremony were wrapped in hides and placed in a tree used for that purpose, and there were no rites of "sending the spirits away." Those dying after getting a

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• 766 name were taken to the usual place, where they were placed on a scaffold or interred, according to the parents' preference.

775 The Mandan believed that there was a Baby Hill near Fort Clark, another near the Heart River, and a third near Dickinson which had interiors like an earth lodge, in which an old man cared for them. If a child died before being named, it returned to the Baby Hill. People claimed to have seen baby tracks on the tops and sides of these hills. It was believed that the spirits in the hill near the Heart River came north when the Mandan came north. If a woman had been married a number of years and was childless, desiring a child, she would go to one of these hills to pray for one. Those wanting a daughter brought girl's clothing and a ball; for a son she brought a small bow and arrow. The Mandan believed in rebirth. Calf Woman's grandfather said he was one who had been reborn. One of her grandchildren had a spot on her hip, and it was thought she was one who had lived before. It was believed that children choose the mother they want and that a child resembling a sibling who had died was the reincarnation of the other child. The Mandan cite numerous instances of culture heroes who selected a mother when desiring to be born into the tribe.

553 A girl usually keeps her first name as long as she lives. If she was sick or unlucky, her parents frequently put up a feast to get a new name for her. If she had grown up, her brothers and sisters helped her prepare a renaming feast.

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755 A nursing child frequently developed a sore mouth which interfered with its feeding. In such cases, the parents selected a man of the child's father's clan to cure it by piercing the skin of the ceremonial father's leg and permitting the child to suck of his blood. A payment was made to the man selected by the child's clan brothers and sisters.

TRAINING

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562 The child's training was both economic and ritualistic and differed according to the sex of the child. A girl was trained in lodge management, household arts, gardening, curing of meat, and certain ritualistic practices, receiving her instruction primarily from the women of the lodge. A boy was taught hunting and fishing and went out while still a boy to help bring meat

774 it was a member during the life of the individual. It was the earth spirit and was believed to hover around the lodge so long as any visible evidence of the lodge ruins remained. People would see dim lights around the abandoned villages and attributed these lights to the third spirit. The fourth spirit was black and remained outside the lodge and traveled away from the village at times but would return frequently. It was represented by a shadow and was the spirit that frightened people. It was this spirit that Calf Woman believed frightened her the evening before government rations were issued so that she was unable to walk out for her share. It was also the spirit that came to a person in his dreams. When moccasins were burned at the doorway of the lodge where a person had died, it no longer frightened people.

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715 The Mandan concept of the hereafter was based largely on vision experiences. They have a number of accounts of persons who "died" and then returned. All informants were in agreement that the first two spirits returned downstream. Some of the very old people who were remembered by my informants claimed that they would go to the Heart River, where their old people had lived and died. At that place there was a spirit village for each of the villages of the Heart River area, and a spirit-house stood over the body of each person either buried or placed on the prairie there. Some claimed that they would return to Baby Hill and be reincarnated into the tribe. At the present time the older Mandan think that they will return to Like-a-Fishhook Village, where they will be reunited with their relatives who lived and died there. They believe that the spirit people live in earth-lodge villages, plant gardens, hunt, and perform ceremonies much the same as during their lifetime. One's status in the hereafter is essentially the same as when one died.

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766 Children who died before being named were wrapped in robes and placed in trees or interred apart from the rest of the dead. There were no rites, since they were not considered a part of the village until they had been named. They were believed to return immediately to the Home of the Babies to be reborn later.

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682 The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in
627 1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village. One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan. The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

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4. See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

PERSONAL BUNDLES

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Calf Woman told of an old Mandan with ten sons who instructed them each to take one of his teeth to be carried in battle. After he died, he was placed on a scaffold for one year, when the teeth were taken by the sons and kept as sacred objects. The skull was placed at one of the skull circles near a People Above shrine, and the other bones were buried. He had been very successful in warfare but died of a boil.

The skulls of those who died away from the village were usually brought back a year later, if requested by the relatives, by either a man or woman of the father's clan. It was customary to have a woman bring back the skull if summer village hunting expeditions were in the vicinity; otherwise a man leaving on a war expedition was delegated to secure the skull. Skulls brought back were placed at one of the shrines, of which there were a number adjacent to each village.

All men and women fasted, and most people had vision experiences. All were medicine men just as all were warriors or hunters. Some acquired reputations as medicine men just as some had good reputations as warriors or hunters. There was no grouping into cults according to vision; such division as did occur was based on ownership of related hereditary tribal bundles, a system much like the Pawnee except for a greater flexibility deriving from the four-sale right. It cannot be said that inherited bundle-owners were higher in tribal regard than those who practiced doctoring or led successful war parties. Each stood on his own record. Such advantage as hereditary bundle-owners had over others came from their possession of tribal lore belonging to the bundle. Since each hereditary bundle-owner was instructed in the traditional history of the bundle, he became an authority on the early history of the tribe. Four Bears rose to eminence and became second chief without inheriting any bundles of his parents other than a sacred shield and rain-calling robe. He had a successful war record and did much fasting. That would never have elevated him to more than a war leader, but the many feasts he made to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him the necessary prestige. He gave the Okipa twice. Crows Heart had a good war record but never rose to eminence. His home being near a river crossing, people were always stopping there for meals. Nevertheless, he gave few for-

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768 SOCIAL READJUSTMENTS TO DEATH--disposition of the possessions of the deceased (e.g., abandonment or relocation of dwelling, destruction or mutilation of movable possessions, redistribution of property); provision for support of spouse and children; residence changes of survivors; etc. See also:

Inheritance	428	Rule of residence	591
Guardianship and administration	429	Adoption	597
Insurance	466	Rules of succession	59, 61, 63, 622, 643
Heirlooms	523	Relief of widows and orphans	736
Remarriage	587	Social insurance	745
Status of widows	589		

meanwhile her parents frequently made arrangements to bring them to the daughter's parental lodge to live. They constructed a side passage from the door so that the son-in-law could enter his section of the lodge without meeting his mother-in-law, and he was expected to remain in his quarters when she was in the lodge. When the lodge was ready, the girl's father presented her husband with a horse or other goods and invited them to live with them. 591

When a man married the oldest sister, he was entitled to marry the younger ones as they became of age by giving them horses. Her parents built additional beds in the son-in-law's section. There was no wedding feast or exchange of goods. 587

A third method of marrying was known as "marriage by mutual agreement." Two people attracted to each other decided to marry without consulting their parents. Sometimes a girl did not approve of her sisters' husband and decided not to marry him. She encouraged a young man so that she could get away from her mother's household. She received two or three horses from her husband and left her parents to live in her husband's lodge. If she had a number of sisters and did not like their husband, she would remain in her husband's lodge and help the women of the household. Whether or not this residence became permanent depended on a number of factors. When the lodge was already occupied by her husband's sisters and their husband, she would attempt to move out with her husband to a household of old women of her clan, especially one where there were no men to provide for the household. Eventually she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens when the old people died. On the other hand, should her husband have no sisters, she would prefer to care for her parents-in-law, whom she treated as "grandparents" and addressed as such, and they would treat her as a woman of the lodge. When they died, she would inherit the lodge, household goods, and gardens. 583
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As a resident of the husband's lodge, a woman's position was subordinate to the other female members of the household group. In case of a quarrel, she was obliged to leave. Should her husband be killed or die, leaving small children and his brother was unable to marry her because of an unco-operative wife, she was sent out of the lodge and was permitted to take 592
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only her clothing and children. Even the bedding belonged with the lodge and could not be taken whether she had assisted in tanning and preparing them or not. Responsibility for the children's care rested with her sisters and the female members of her clan.

Divorce was easy and common. The elopement of a married woman having children with a married man also having children was the cause of much trouble, since it involved so many people. Learning that their brother had eloped with another man's wife, the brothers and sisters would take horses and other property to the injured man to prevent him from causing them injury, since they were accountable for a sibling's conduct. Learning that his wife had run away with another man, he was entitled to retaliate against the man's brothers and sisters and would start killing their horses. My Mandan informants enjoyed relating instances when the brothers and sisters, learning that a brother had eloped with another man's wife, had reached the lodge before the wife was missed. They would come to his lodge in a group leading the horses. Seeing the people with horses, he would hurry into his lodge or go through the village calling for his wife. People considered it very humorous to surprise a man in that way, and it was the subject of gossip for quite a while. He was expected to accept the horses and forget his wife. The elopers usually visited the Crow Indians until the husband was reconciled to his loss. When a prominent man lost his wife, he would usually organize a war party or go out alone against the enemy. He could disregard his former wife, and those most concerned with public opinion usually did. However, a man of position usually called her into his lodge when she returned from her elopement, painted and dressed her, mounted her on a good horse, and took her back to her new husband. Those who cried because a wife eloped or who attempted to take her back or agreed to let her return if she requested it were considered weaklings and not worthy of respect. Bear on the Water, a Mandan, stole the young Arikara wife of Four Bears, the principal war chief of the Hidatsa. While they were away, Four Bears made so many threats that the Mandan were obliged to leave the village for fear of war. He refused to accept horses or to smoke the pipe with Bear on

THE MANDAN LIFE-CYCLE

When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives⁹⁹ were called and the dying person was dressed and painted before death, if possible. It was the duty of the father's clan to attend to the disposal of the body, and the dying person's request determined whether the body would be buried or placed on a scaffold. The Mandan claim that in earlier times earth burials were more common, and this belief is corroborated by the large number of both primary and secondary bundle burials found at their older villages near the Heart River. In some instances, they requested hilltop burials with only a covering of robes and stones. Most people were placed on scaffolds which were erected by members of the father's clan, and the "sending-away of the spirit" rites on the fourth day were performed by a woman of the father's clan. The body was placed on the scaffold with the head to the northwest and the feet to the southeast, the direction the spirits were believed to take to reach the Heart River. People never slept with their feet pointed to the southeast, believing that to do so would be to invite death. The relatives would come to the scaffold to mourn for four days. Whenever an eminent person died, all fires in the village were extinguished for one day while all the village mourned. It is said that even the dogs wept.

The deceased person's personal property was taken by the brothers and sisters, and, when there were none living, the people of the clan took possession of the goods and divided it among themselves. In return for this property, they were required to go to the scaffold to mourn and to pay the mourners of the father's clan. When the deceased was an old woman of a couple occupying a lodge by themselves, the man left the lodge to live with people of his own clan, and the lodge was either abandoned or taken over by a group of females belonging to the deceased person's clan. When an old woman having no children or younger females in the lodge became feeble, she usually moved into another lodge where the females were of her clan.

When a woman died leaving small children, her unmarried sisters were expected to provide for them and to marry the widower if he asked them. When the deceased mother had no sisters, the children were cared for by the maternal grandmother and her sisters. The clan provided for those who had no close blood relatives. Many families were broken up by the

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